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classes to begin the study of economics with this book as an outline. Under competent instruction it would be a syllabus that would set as high a standard for attainment as the strongest students would be able to satisfy. The method deserves wide use.

A. W. S.

Chicago Conference on Trusts. Speeches, Debates, Resolutions, List of the Delegates, Committees, etc. Held September 13-16, 1899. Chicago: The Civic Federation of Chicago, 1900.

THESE 626 pages contain very few facts, and fewer arguments, that were not previously familiar to everyone who had followed either academic or popular discussions of capitalistic tendencies. While the book cannot therefore be said to have added to known facts about trusts, it certainly does constitute a very valuable exhibit of the ways in which different types of our people are today thinking about them. While the more recent "Anti-Trust Conference" in Chicago simply served to give certain partial views a chance to advertise themselves, this book is a better index than could be found elsewhere within brief compass of the currents of thought in the United States upon nearly all phases of the subject. For this reason the book will soon be ancient history, but at the present moment it is well worth the attention of all who are concerned with our social and political problems.

A. W. S.

Les transformations du pouvoir. Par G. TARDE. Paris: Félix Alcan, 1899. Pp. x + 266.

THE substance of two courses of lectures read by the author in 1896 and 1898 in the *École libre des Sciences Politiques* and in the *Collège libre des Sciences Sociales* is presented in this book to a wider public. The author tells us that the argument is an application of his previously published sociological ideas to political interpretation. He recognizes that there is a physical side to the phenomena of the transformation of social power, but he wisely leaves this group of factors to sciences competent to deal with them, and confines himself to the psychical phases of the problem.

The idea which the book develops is that there is demand for a science of political power to be placed by the side of economic science (1). Compared with economic, scientific, æsthetic, or religious

activity, political activity is relatively simple, whether considered as a system of ends or of means (4). All political action is consciously or unconsciously legislative (5). It does not follow that all political action is essentially egoistic (6). The attempt of a party or of a nation to get the upper hands is always mixed with something else, viz., the desire to realize a program of social reorganization which, conceived by the chief of a party, is the true reason for its being; or, in the case of nation against nation, a program of reorganization in which there is a more or less developed idea of a good common to conquerors and conquered. Expanding this conception the author reaches the corollary that political power is to the nation what conscious and personal will is to the individual (7). Advancing a step he asserts that government is to administration what will is to habit, what perception is to recollection (11). Power is nothing but the privilege of getting itself obeyed, and public authority, like wealth, is very multi-form (15). Distinguishing (*a*) indeterminate and (*b*) determinate authority, M. Tarde shows a certain insight into the facts of social control, though not to the extent of Professor Ross' analysis, of which more presently.

Another distinction, which the author regards as equally fundamental, is that between internal and external power (17). We have inventories of public wealth, stock exchanges that give us the numerical variations of its different sources. Why may we not hope to have some day good inventories of political power—political "bourses"? It would be very difficult, but very desirable. If, with reliable statistics, we could measure approximately the maximum or minimum of quantities of power incarnated in the English cabinet, or in the queen of England, or in the different sovereigns or ministers of Europe, America, and Asia, nothing would be more valuable for diplomats (18).

After these preliminary considerations there follow ten chapters upon the following subjects: "The Sources of Power;" "Invention and Power: Various Criticisms;" "Orders of Nobility;" "Capital Cities;" (Part II) "Amplifying Repetition;" "Political Opposition," (*a*) "The Struggle of Parties," (*b*) "War and Diplomacy;" "The Laws of Political Transformations;" "Political Art and Political Morality."

Throughout the book the work of Professor Ross in the series above referred to is repeatedly suggested. With Tarde the emphasis in the first part is on the genesis of political power rather than upon its statics, while with Ross the reverse is the case. Tarde's survey is

much more summary than that of Ross. Tarde commits himself to theses, in the direct line of his argument, that obviously call for closer analysis. For instance, in general his often forced appeal to his stock explanation "imitation." Our objection to his use of this "principle" is that he has long ago reasoned himself away from his earlier and better-known judgments about its rôle among social forces. He has described the companion facts of "opposition," of "invention," and of "adaptation." Yet he seems unable to restrain himself from implying that "imitation" is the same pass-key to all social changes which he claimed that it was before he had reached these later perceptions. Again, in particular, M. Tardé gets dangerously distant from his base of supplies in such theorems as that legitimate authorities rest chiefly upon *belief*, tyrannical authorities upon *desire* (36-44 *et passim*). In the latter case the author is partially aware of his own omissions, to be sure, for he acknowledges that the terms "legitimate" and "illegitimate" involve a certain vicious dualism. In the same connection his insistence that the family is the source of all political power is followed (35) by admission that the family is, at first, shop, church, school, regiment, state; and that the nature of power differs according to the one of these sources (*sic*) which predominates. By this admission Tarde throws his own argument into confusion about the very distinction between *source* and *channel* of power with which he sets out (23). On the whole, the first part of the book seems to emphasize demand for a treatment of the genesis of political authority on a new scale of thoroughness.

In the second part Tarde opens up a mass of material for kinetic theory with originality of conception quite as distinct as that shown in Ross' program. Indeed, in chap. 10 Tarde throws down the gauntlet in this fashion (187): "It is our business to formulate *laws of causation*, of logical causation, which at once state and partially exemplify rules proclaimed by the philosophers of history, and at the same time exhibit frequent exceptions to the rules. Moreover, these logical laws will lead to other solutions both more comprehensive and more penetrating." In showing how he would go to work to carry out this plan, Tarde suggests problems enough to convince the most skeptical that there is work to do in this field. Perhaps the same skeptics are not yet in a state of mind to be convinced that the work is worth doing, but this may be too much to expect at this early date. For instance, the author points out (192) that "Social evolution is a problem in which it is important first of all to distinguish with care the independent variables

from their functions. Before treating an important branch of this complex evolution, for example juridical or political evolution, we must decide whether it is proper to assign the same rank to these social phenomena as to religious, or scientific, or industrial evolution. Are not the two last in combination the relatively independent variables of which the evolution of law and of political power are only the functions? And, if that is the case, is it reasonable to expect as much simplicity or relative regularity in the march of political and juridical evolution as in that of religious, scientific, or industrial evolution?" In accordance with this suggestion, Tarde at once sketches subdivisions of the problem of political power corresponding with the variety of culture stage in which it belongs. Quite likely the folk-psychologists will say that Tarde has proposed in all this no problem which they have not already formulated, and they may not be far from correct, but Tarde has certainly approached the problems from an angle of his own, and has helped to show their importance. At the same time he has not gone far beyond the enunciation of some promising theses, with illustrations profuse enough to make them plausible. It remains to enlist special workers in sociology who will begin to subject suggestions of this nature to all the applicable scientific tests.

ALBION W. SMALL.